“A Mass Consumption of Scenery”

Nationalism, Tourism, and the Construction of Landscape in the 19th-Century White Mountains and Their Tallest Peak Mount Washington

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Abstract

New Hampshire's White Mountains are the site of some of the earliest tourism developments in the United States. In this thesis, I analyze how these developments served to re-shape and construct a new–and lasting–landscape of the region that served the interests of 19th-century settlers, entrepreneurs, and tourists. I base my analysis in a study of landscape construction that explores how places like the White Mountains are assigned meaning over time and have meaning co-produced by humans and nature. I examine the ways that those meanings infuse the landscape with a dominant ideology that dictates how a place is used. I argue that settler colonialism and early American nationalism changed the indigenous landscape of the White Mountains and established the region as a place to be used to cultivate national pride in the newly formed United States. This process laid the foundation for tourist developments during the 19th century. Two forms of tourism emerged during the 19th century: luxury tourism that commodified the scenery of the White Mountains and created mediated recreation experiences of the wilderness, and adventure tourism that put travelers into the Mount Washington landscape but commodified the experience of reaching the summit above all else. These forms of tourism converged and diverged over time, but both contributed to the production of the White Mountain landscape that exists today. That landscape was reshaped to privilege the parts of it that are most desirable as tourism commodities under capitalism, and those parts were naturalized in the land to support that purpose. I argue that as geographers, it is our job to understand why we have come to see the parts of White Mountain landscape that we see by unpacking the history and motivations that created it.

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Finally, thank you mom and dad, for introducing me to the White Mountains and Mount Washington. They are a special place to me because I grew up visiting and learning about them with you.

Chapter 1: An Introduction to Mount Washington

My family and I have traveled to the White Mountains many times. Whenever we visit, Mount Washington, the tallest mountain in the region, looms large in the landscape. My first hike up on Mt. Washington was in August 2017, when my mother and I set out to hike the mountain to celebrate her birthday. On the way up, we were met with clouds, light rain, and loud wind, all signifiers of Mount Washington's infamous weather. Even with the weather, the experience of the summit dazzled me. The clouds wrapped around the upper stretch of the trail, I couldn't see a wide-open view of the White Mountains, but the landscape and weather of Mount Washington made me feel *small*. I was surrounded by towering snowy mountains and looking at the vast landscapes from the Mount Washington Hotel. This feeling is what draws me to the mountains. But how were such alluring landscapes made available to me and the thousands of other people who visit the hotels, mountains, and railways every year? We are all drawn to the region to seek something in a landscape that has been prescribed to us over time, a landscape that demonstrates the power and beauty of the White Mountains. In this thesis, I contemplate those landscapes and examine how they came to be in a place that I have felt so drawn to all my life.

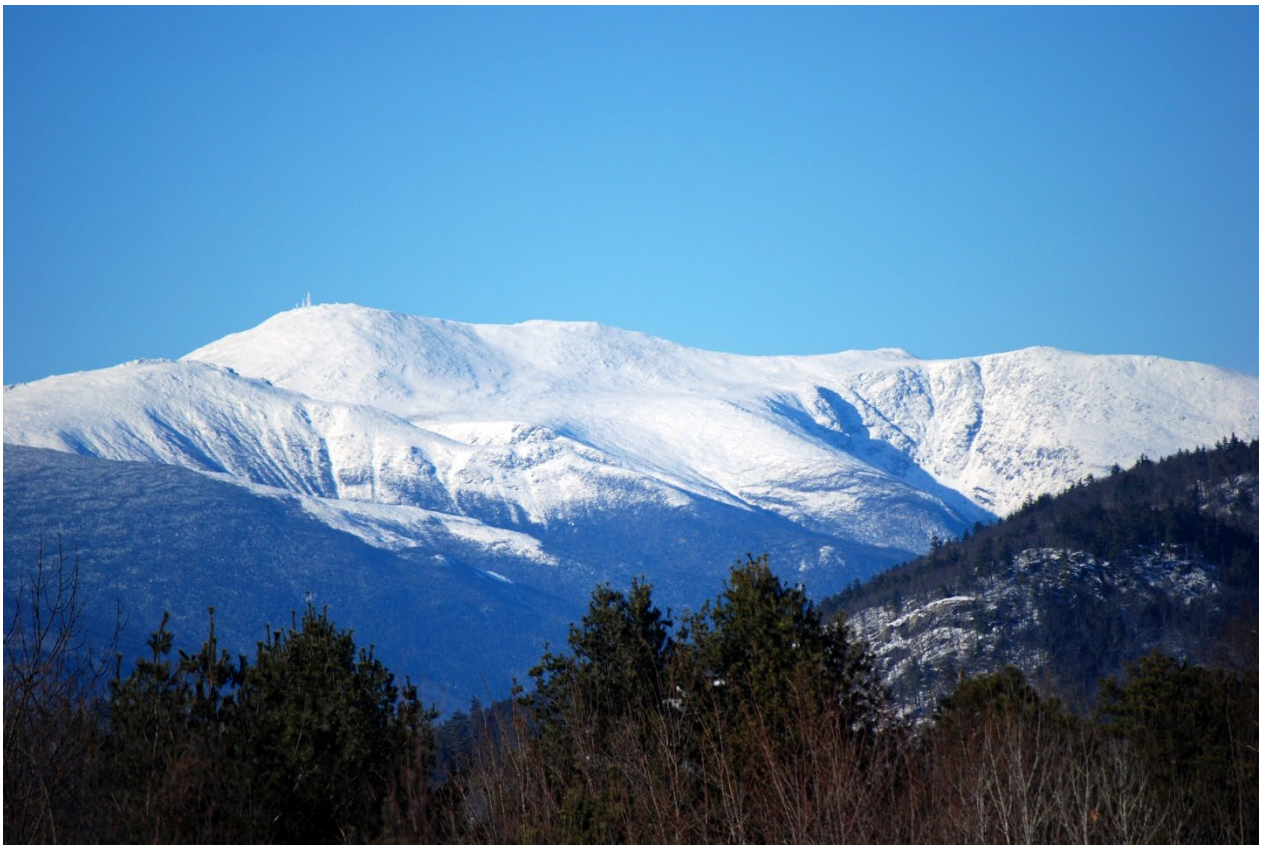

Figure 1: A photo of Mount Washington taken from Intervale, New Hampshire (Barrison 2010).

Standing at 6,288 feet, Mount Washington (Figure 1) is the tallest mountain in New Hampshire and the Northeast. It also sits as the tallest mountain in the White Mountains, the mountain range that covers about a quarter of New Hampshire. Mount Washington's prominence is earned not only by its height, but its spectacular views of the White Mountains and its infamy of being the place with the "worst weather in the world" (Potter Jr & Chabot 1994, p. 50). The superlatives of the mountain attract about 250,000 visitors each year (Kirellos 2021), and these tourists can hike, drive, or take a train up the mountain. Tourism is deeply entrenched in the physical landscape and identity of Mount Washington and the White Mountains that surround it. It is inseparable from the experience of visiting the region. As someone who has spent her life visiting the White Mountains repeatedly as a tourist, I want to explore how such a landscape is

made. This thesis will explain the history of tourism in Mount Washington and White Mountains, paying special attention to the process of landscape construction that shapes how they are viewed and used. My goal is to contribute to a literary tradition that examines how American landscapes are made and how that process is shaped by dominant ideologies and power, as well as by nature itself.

My research on the White Mountains and Mount Washington examines the rise of nationalist ideology, the construction of different types of tourism, and how these tourist activities transform the landscape. The research questions that I ask are: how was the landscape of the White Mountains and their highest peak, Mount Washington, constructed to be used for tourism during the nineteenth century? The following describes my theoretical framework, methods, and structure of the thesis.

Theoretical Framework

To answer my research questions, this thesis works within the intellectual tradition on landscape and place-making, primarily work by Carl Sauer and Don Mitchell. I supplement this framework with William Cronon's work about the nature wilderness, David Harvey's work on the geography of capitalism, and Linda Nash and Bruce Braun's discussion of the agency of nature, which informs how landscapes are co-produced by people and nature. This framework allows me to apply a theoretical lens to the field of tourism studies. I draw primarily on William Cronon and Bryant F. Tolles to discuss luxury tourism and on Paul Beedie and Simon Hudson's work to discuss adventure tourism. I contribute to this intellectual by examining how luxury and adventure tourism interact with each other to commodify wilderness landscapes.

Based on this framework, I argue that landscape is constructed based on the assumptions and interpretations that people bring to the land. I then complicate this argument by asserting that the land, too, can have agency in creating landscape as humans react to it to interpret the land. I build on this argument by asserting that landscape forms the basis for ways in which the land is used and can be infused with ideology that uses the land to support nationalist interests. In the developing United States, the concept of wilderness emerged as a way to garner nationalist pride for the new country, as abundance of natural space was something that the U.S. had that Europe lacked. I connect this development to capitalism and the creation of tourism, which commodifies the scenery and experience of the land through luxury and adventure tourism. These forms of tourism increasingly use the land to accumulate capital and recreate landscapes by privileging the parts of it that can be most successfully commodified. I bring this framework to a study of Mount Washington and the White Mountains, examining how the existing indigenous landscape was transformed into a nationalist landscape by Euro-American colonists. I then outline how nationalism contributed to a further transformation of the landscape into a tourist landscape during the 19th century, and how the implications of this transformation can still be seen today.

Methods

My research method depends on historical archives about Mount Washington and the White Mountains. In particular, I draw on Pavel Cenkl and Christopher Johnson, who have written extensively about the history of tourism in the White Mountains. Johnson has also written about the scattered history of the indigenous Abenaki people, which I believe to be very significant to understanding how space on Mount Washington was changed over time. I supplement this history with interviews from living members of the tribe. I also draw on work

from several other writers who have written about specific parts of Mount Washington's history, such as trails, the summit hotels, and the cog railway.

Chapter Outline

In my first chapter, I establish a historical and theoretical background for my thesis. I argue that the landscape of Mount Washington was constructed to support early American nationalism and forms of tourism that commodified the landscape during the 19th century. The two forms of tourism that I analyze during this time period, luxury and adventure tourism, began with different motivations, but intersected and diverged over time to commodify the landscape in a similar way.

In my second chapter, I will explain my theoretical framework for the thesis. Drawing on the work of geographers like Carl Sauer, I examine how landscape is constructed by people's assumptions about the land and influenced by a co-production of nature. I assert that this forms a basis for how the land is used, and that landscape contributed to nationalist interests in the developing United States. I outline the ways in which this connects to capitalism and the creation of tourism that commodifies landscape through tourism. Finally, I explain the qualities of the two types of tourism that I observe in the 19th-century White Mountains: luxury and adventure tourism, then argue that they recreate landscapes to accumulate capital by privileging the most commodifiable parts of the land.

In my third chapter, I write about the pre-colonial history of the White Mountains and Mount Washington to create an understanding of the indigenous Abenaki presence in the region. I compare their understanding of the land in terms of reciprocity with the settler colonial view of the region as a place to be used for domination and extraction. By writing about the early Euro-

American colonial history in the region, I establish how Mount Washington was assigned nationalist qualities that would later contribute to its commodification.

In my fourth chapter, I explore how luxury tourism developed in the White Mountains. It was the death of the Willey family in a landslide caused by the harsh weather of the mountains that sparked tourist interest in the region. This interest was supplemented by art and writing that exalted the sublime qualities of the mountain landscape and appealed to nationalist sentiments regarding wilderness. The development of railroads through the mountains allowed tourists to come to the region in search of this landscape. I write that hotel developers took advantage of this to construct luxury hotels to support the large number of tourists, and that these hotels created a mediated experience of the wilderness that tourists consumed through recreation and scenery. Finally, I argue that while the success of luxury tourism declined in the 20th century due to automobiles streamlining travel, the effect that it had on the White Mountain landscape stayed and blended with the adventure tourism that was built up alongside it.

In my fifth chapter, I compare White Mountain luxury tourism with adventure tourism on Mount Washington, which emerged on a smaller scale in the early 19th century. The Crawford family were the first group of settlers to commodify the mountain by selling their services as guides to hikers who stayed at their hotels. Early adventure tourists were more interested in the summit of the mountain than the hike itself, so the Crawfords developed trails on the mountain to meet their expectations. This opened up the mountain to commercial development that prioritized getting tourists to the summit. Bridle paths, hotels, and a Cog Railway were all developed on the mountain over the 19th century, gradually introducing more elements of luxury tourism into Mount Washington and influencing how it would be used today.

In my conclusion, I reflect on how the construction of the Mount Washington landscape during the nineteenth century affects the way that tourists experience the mountain today. I emphasize that the current promotional materials for places like the Mount Washington Auto Road and the Mount Washington Resort invoke the same images produced for luxury and adventure tourism. I summarize the findings of my thesis, arguing that this iconography demonstrates that luxury and adventure tourism interlocked and naturalized a capitalist, nationalist ideology in the landscape. Finally, I compel the reader to understand that what we see in a landscape is not naturally there, as landscapes are constructed over a long period of time– and to see the ideology and history that have built them helps to understand why we see the land that we see.

Chapter 2: Landscape Theory and Tourism: A Literature Review

In this chapter, I lay out my theoretical framework for my analysis of landscape construction in the White Mountains and Mount Washington. I start by discussing Carl Sauer's theory of landscape construction, which states that people read and interpret the land based on the assumptions that they bring to it. To expand Sauer's theory, I draw on posthumanist literature by Bruce Braun and Linda Nash that asserts that nature itself has agency in shaping people's interpretation of it, which informs a co-production of landscape between people and nature. With the basis for landscape theory established, I discuss how the construction of landscape informs the land's use to perpetuate ideologies by reviewing William Cronon's work on the creation of wilderness in the United States. The concept of wilderness was used to perpetuate nationalist and later capitalist interests in the country that privileged parts of the land that could be symbols for national pride or be commodified. After establishing that landscape construction can be connected to nationalism and capitalism, I assert that all three were tied to tourist developments in the 19th century United States. I discuss two forms of tourism: luxury and adventure tourism, examining the qualities of both as they were present in Mount Washington and the White Mountains. By laying the groundwork for what forms of tourism were present in the region and why they were connected to nationalism and capitalism, I prepare the reader to consider how the landscape of the White Mountains and Mount Washington was constructed over time and what purposes that landscape served.

The Production of Landscape

Geographer Carl Sauer theorized that reading the land involved taking its constituent parts, considering how they exist in relation to each other, and interpreting them based on our

cultural assumptions (Sauer 1925). This process allows people to construct and express an understanding of the land, which is the basis for the concept of "landscape." For the purposes of this thesis, I define landscape as a construction in words, pictures, or ideas of the relationship between the physical features of a place and the assumptions or beliefs that people assign to them. Sauer wrote that landscape is the medium through which we make assertions about not just the land, but reality as a whole (1925). This is because the physical content of a landscape has meaning to the people who bring their existing beliefs to it.

However, because landscape is a relationship between people and the land, the land will also inform how people use it. In his article "Modalities of posthumanism," Bruce Braun framed nature as an actor "imbued with the capacity for affect–the capacity to be acted upon and the capacity to act" (2004, p. 1354). When natural events such as storms or landslides occur, they affect the perceptions and actions of humans interacting with the landscape. While humans interpret what these events mean and change their construction of a landscape accordingly, they could not do so without the action asserted by nature and the land. Environmental and cultural historian Linda Nash supports this perspective on human-nature interaction, writing that "so-called human agency cannot be separated from the environments in which that agency emerges" (2005, p. 69). In this thesis, I approach landscape as something that is constructed by continued interaction between humans and the land, a result of co-production that informs how a place comes to be used.

People come to a place with existing ideas about how to interact with places similar to it, and those ideas inform how they respond to the land and construct new landscapes (Sauer 1925). When a landscape is constructed, the beliefs that make it up become beliefs about how the land should be used, as people will use the land to support the ideas that they want to assert.

Furthermore, ideas about how landscape should be used are inherited and evolve over time, as new developments on the land are informed by landscapes that have already been constructed (Lewis 1979). This means that landscapes can be constructed to reflect a dominant ideology, as that ideology will continue to inform how the landscape is used over time.

The Ideology of Landscape

A common way that ideology is reinforced through the landscape is the privileging of certain parts of the land at the expense of others (Cronon 1995). Privileging certain parts of the land and rendering the non-privileged parts less visible allows people to assert the parts that support their ideology and representation of the landscape are the reality of a place. During the creation of the United States, Euro-American colonists did this by positioning the natural landscape–forests, rivers, mountains, and valleys of the continent–as an inhuman "wilderness" that was separate from them (Cronon 1995). This erased the presence of indigenous people from the land and allowed colonists to assert a nationalist ideology about the new country. During the 19th century, wilderness was presented as something that the United States had that Europe did not, as the latter was industrializing and lacked the same abundance of natural space (Cronon 1995). Thus, wilderness embodied something that the newly emerging America could stake national pride in and was given moral values to support that (Cronon 1995). These values, which I will explore later in this thesis as they were present in the White Mountains, often emphasized the beauty of nature and the feeling of the sublime that wilderness invoked in Americans.

During the 19th century, American landscapes were constructed to support capitalist interests as well as nationalist ones–and they were often intertwined (Harvey 2011). Privileging certain parts of the land allows them to be sold as commodities, as Americans valued the images of the land that were promoted to them through nationalism (Cronon 1995). David Harvey writes

that when landscapes are constructed to suit capitalist interests, they will contribute to the contribution of new spaces that increasingly self-produce capital (2011). This process occurred in the 19th-century United States in the form of tourism, which continually influenced the construction of landscapes across the country where wilderness could be sold.

Luxury Tourism and the Consumption of Wilderness

The tourist landscape of the White Mountains and Mount Washington was constructed for two forms of tourism: luxury tourism and adventure tourism. Luxury tourism in the 19th-century United States emerged out of a commodification of the wilderness, as hotel developers chose to build in areas that appealed to an elite set of urban tourists who had been fed the sublime and beautiful images in wilderness landscapes through the arts (Cronon 1995). These "grand hotels," as they were often called, were built in early revival styles that invoked the imagery of high-class European architecture. Due to their elegant decor and large size, they stood out on wide open country and mountain landscapes (Tolles 1998). Wealthy tourists would visit grand hotels to display their money and social status and to consume the beautiful wilderness landscapes they were a part of (Tolles 1998, p. 14). Regions like the White Mountains and Colorado Springs were fetishized for tourists' ideal viewing experience by the grand hotels that inhabited them (Cronon 1995).

However, these luxury tourist developments also sheltered tourists from the harshness of the outdoors, providing comfort and sophistication in wilderness environments (Harner 2021). As a result, luxury tourism constructed a landscape of contradictions, where the wilderness was celebrated and consumed because it represented an area untouched by people, but the tourism was enabled by wealthy patrons and the development of a romanticized, urbanized landscape. The wilderness landscape that luxury tourists inhabited has been described as "a place of

recreation" that leisure-time fantasies were projected onto for the best tourist experience (Cronon 1995, p. 9). During this process, luxury tourism commodified the landscape by situating it as a product to be consumed, an experience that tourists entered into by paying to stay at grand hotels or other luxury locations. There was no physical experience of the wilderness to be had, only an accumulation of capital through beautiful but static views. However, there is another form of tourism that puts tourists directly into those views.

The Experience of Adventure Tourism

Adventure tourism is a relatively young field of tourism that emphasizes going into wild environments to have an experience that appeals to wants, desires, and fantasies about romantic notions of adventure (Beedie and Hudson 2003, p.634). This motivation is embedded with romantic notions of exploration, journeying, and searching (Beedie and Hudson 2003, p. 635), upon a romanticized landscape. Where adventure tourism differs from luxury tourism is that tourists want to pay for and get an experience of a place that they cannot experience through views, only with their body (Beedie and Hudson 2003). However, in reality these expectations create adventure tourist experiences that are just as contradictory as luxury tourists', stripping the complexity of natural spaces away to landscapes that privilege commodifiable areas. Tourists rarely, if ever leave behind the urban frame when traveling through the wilderness (Beedie and Hudson 2003, p. 627). The urban amenities of warm shelter, hot water, beds, hygienic food, and other comforts are not lost in adventure tourism packages—as tourists often expect them to varying degrees (Beedie and Hudson 2003, p. 627). The adventure tourism experience typically does not put tourists into the wild without considering the needs that they bring to an outing.

Considerable research has been done on adventure tourism in the Himalayan Mountains. Located on the border between Nepal and Tibet in China, mountain experiences are sold to the

thousands of climbers who hike them every year. Beedie and Hudson write that trekking itineraries in the mountains are tight to ensure that tourists get the best value for their money. The route, the spectacular views, and the ensuing photo opportunities are determined for the trekkers (Beedie & 2003, p. 629). These routes, combined with the natural features of the mountains that they take tourists through, co-create a landscape that commodifies a limited experience of the landscape by putting most tourists on the same scenic routes. This process constructs the landscape as a product to be consumed through adventure tourism packages, as companies that guide tourists up the mountain charge them to experience the ideal landscape that has been laid out for tourists. While these qualities of adventure tourism have primarily been observed in modern tourism, I argue that they are also present in 19th-century Mount Washington tourism. As I will explore in this thesis, adventure tourism on Mount Washington was created out of travelers' desire to pay for an adventure experience but ultimately came to embody a similar urban frame to modern adventure tourism.

In the chapters that follow, I will apply this theoretical framework to Mount Washington and the White Mountains during the 19th century to compare the ways that luxury and adventure tourism developed in the region. I base my analysis in landscape theory because it is important to understand how the region changed over time, with the indigenous view of the landscape being replaced. The landscape of Mount Washington and the White Mountains was co-produced by settler colonialists, the ideologies of nationalism and capitalism, and the nature in the mountains that they responded to. This production informed the development of luxury and adventure tourism that used the landscape for commodification, something that can still be seen in the modern landscape of the region.

Chapter 3: The Indigenous Mount Washington and Early Colonial Settlement

In this chapter, I provide the history of indigenous people in the White Mountains, specifically the Abenaki tribe. I then analyze how early settler colonialism in the region during the 17th and 18th centuries brought nationalist and extractivist views to the mountains. Finally, I argue how the White Mountain landscape became a symbol of nationalism for settlers and would later play a role in influencing tourism developments.

The Abenaki Landscape in the White Mountains

Before the arrival of European settlers, the place known today as the White Mountains was inhabited by the Abenaki, an indigenous group who continue to live in the region and others across New England today. During this time, the mountains were known by various names in the Algonquian language that was used by tribes in the region. The Abenaki called the White Mountains "Woban-aden-ok," which means "to the place of the high white or mica mountains" (Indigenous NH Collaborative Collective, 2018). Mount Washington went by multiple different names among indigenous tribes, but the most frequently used name among the Abenaki was Agiochochook (Home of the Great Spirit) (AMC Staff, 2021).

During a pre-colonial time period, the landscape of this region was constructed in terms of reciprocity and reverence. Respect for the land was central to the Abenaki's way of life, as they used it for food, shelter and recreation. The land was important to Abenaki society, so they gave back to it through acknowledgements of gratitude, respect for the finite nature of its resources, and productive forestry techniques that stimulated plant growth and increased the diversity of the forest (Johnson 2006). The Abenaki cultivated the land for its benefit as well as their own, creating a beneficial co-production of the region. The landscape was constructed to

support the resources it provided to the Abenaki and the appreciation that they gave it in response. This appreciation can be best seen in the reverence that the Abenaki gave Agiochochook, which was considered a sacred place and thus forbidden to climb (AMC Staff, 2021). This vision of an enduring, vital "personhood" in all aspects of the land, (Johnson 2006) which contrasts sharply with the later commercialization of the region's landscape, remains in the Abenaki tradition.

Members of the Abenaki who still live among the White Mountains and in other regions maintain a fractured history that was disrupted by colonial violence. The effects of colonialism began in the early 17th century, when a strain of plague brought to New England by European traders caused an epidemic among the tribe. Between 1616-1618, 90 percent of the approximately 150,000 Abenaki people in New Hampshire were killed by the epidemic, erasing much of their cultural history (Johnson 2006). While scholars have attempted to reconstruct pieces of this history, they are unable to fully portray how the pre-colonial White Mountains were experienced. Elder Paul "Gwilawato" Bunnel, a member of the Ko'asek Traditional Band of the Abenaki Nation, passes down what he remembers as the practices of reverence and respect towards the region as his ancestors. "Everything is part of us," he says in an interview with the Appalachian Mountain Club. "And that's the plants, the trees, everything living" (2021). Bunnel also says that there are no widespread taboos about climbing the White Mountains among today's Abenaki. The mountain range is still a sacred place that the Abenaki wants to establish protections for historical grounds on, but Bunnel says that "We don't claim any land because it's already been taken" (2021). This change in the Abenaki tradition is indicative of the ways in which the landscape of the White Mountains was changed by settler colonialism and how the changing region has affected the Abenaki perspective on tradition in the mountains.

Darby Field and the Colonial Landscape

The White Mountain landscape created by the Abenaki was disrupted by the arrival of European colonists. Colonial settlers brought not only the plague to the Abenaki and the White Mountains, but also new ways to construct the landscape. Early settlers in the White Mountains viewed the land in terms of domination, submission, and commercial motive to extract from land with seemingly inexhaustible resources (Johnson 2006). The construction of the White Mountains in terms of a commodity began to take shape with this early settlement, which was mixed with early nationalist inspirations to establish a new land for European colonists.

Darby Field was the most significant of the early European colonists in the White Mountains, as he was the first to ascend Mount Washington as part of an expedition. Field was a translator between Europeans and indigenous people. He was sent to the White Mountains by Governor John Whinthrop of New Hampshire to make a record of a region that was perceived as wilderness. Field took an extractivist view towards the mountains, writing that they offered untold riches and potential for settlement (Cenkl 2006, p. 2). This differed from the indigenous construction of the landscape as something that was reciprocal. Field also corrected Whinthrop's perception that the region was an inhospitable wilderness, and encouraged other settlers to move in.

During his expedition to the White Mountains, Darby Field set his sights on climbing Agiochochook. While Field's motivations for the mountain are not fully known, historians speculate that he was driven by a desire for "fabulous treasures" like furs and precious minerals (Waterman & Waterman 1989, p. 13). Field climbed Agiochochook in 1642, accompanied by members of regional indigenous groups (members of the Abenaki who accompanied him did not make their way to the summit). After an 18-day expedition, Field became the first European

settler to ascend the mountain (Johnson 2006, p. 22). While Field himself may not have taken his achievement as a sign of conquest, the travelers and settlers that followed in his footsteps did. Following Field's expedition and another oft-written-about one by Henry Johnson, the White Mountains opened up to Europeans who sought to "take the wilderness and prepare it for settlement and economic exploitation" (Johnson 2006, p. 23). The continued tellings of these stories of exploration and settlement would influence a more drastic shift towards nationalism during the 18th century.

Becoming Mount Washington: The Nationalist Impact of Naming a Place

The renaming of the White Mountains was the last step that helped make the region a nationalist symbol. Mount Washington was the first of the mountains named by European settlers. The exact date that the mountain was named is unknown, but it is believed to have been named by Reverend Manasseh Cutler and Reverend Jeremy Belknap in 1784 after their expedition to the mountain (AMC Staff, 2021). What is known is that the name Mount Washington first appeared in writing in the third volume of Belknap's *The History of New Hampshire*, published in 1791. Belknap wrote that the region's tallest peak "makes majestic an appearance all along the shore of the eastern counties of Massachusetts: It has lately been distinguished by the name of *Mount Washington"* (Belknap 1791, p. 32). The name was granted to the mountain to honor "America's favorite General," George Washington (AMC Staff, 2021).

Naming the tallest mountain in the northeast after the celebrated general from the Revolutionary War, who would then become the first president of the United States of America, made Mount Washington a symbol of national pride for the new country. Wilderness regions like the White Mountains were already sources for early American nationalism because they were heralded as unique spaces that the new country had over urbanized European countries (Cronon

1995), so to name Mount Washington after the new leader of that country served to reinforce that national symbolism of the landscape. Creating a nationalist landscape asserted that Mount Washington and the mountains that surrounded it belonged to the new nation of America, thus firmly fracturing the connection with the indigenous past. This notion helped to prime the region for the settlement and development that would lead to the development of White Mountain tourism in the 19th century.

Chapter 4: Luxury Tourism in the White Mountains

This chapter discusses the emergence of the luxury tourist industry in the White Mountains. I position the disaster of the Willey Family, who died in a landslide, as the event that initiated widespread interest in White Mountain tourism. The allure of the disaster gave previously disinterested urban Americans a hook for the region, which writers and artists were the first to take. Nathaniel Hawthorne and Thomas Cole constructed images of the White Mountains that emphasized the power of nature in the region, as well as the beauty of its views. This added to the growing nationalist pride for the White Mountains, which were viewed as embodying uniquely American qualities of wilderness. The construction of the St. Lawrence & Atlantic Railroad, which passed through the region, hotel developers jumped at the opportunity to build lodging for tourists coming from now-accessible urban centers. This started the era of the grand hotels in the White Mountains, which attracted tourists by commodifying the landscape through recreation and consumption of scenery. The proliferation of the hotels changed the landscape of the White Mountains, as more sites throughout the region were tamed for the tourist experience and the mountains became a place of leisure. I conclude the chapter by discussing the decline of luxury tourism and its integration with adventure tourism, which I cover in the next chapter.

The Intrigue of Tragedy: How Nature Created Interest in the White Mountains

The nationalist symbolic landscape created by Euro-American settlers like Darby Field and Jeremy Belknap increased interest in the White Mountains–but mostly for permanent settlers, not tourists. While the number of mountain towns in the White Mountains doubled in year-round population during the first decade of the 19th century (Cenkl 2006), tourists were rare.

While the wilderness of the White Mountains was useful for propping them up as a uniquely American landscape, it also provoked skepticism or disinterest in members of major urban centers. The mountains were still a place where harsh natural elements were at their strongest, meaning that wealthy urban tourists were hesitant to explore them.

At this time, a small number of specific groups of people traveled to the White Mountains: trappers, traders, and scientists. These travelers stayed in inns created by settlers (Johnson 2006). As early tourists, they would play a part in the construction of the White Mountains' landscape, but their footprint was small. Tourism was something that settlers wanted to bring to the region, but it was unclear how they could generate interest in the White Mountains given its remote location from large population centers. However, the tragedy of the Willey family provided the hook that settlers needed.

In the early 19th century, Samuel Willey Jr. and his family lived in the area now known as Crawford Notch, where they attempted to capitalize on the emerging inn-keeping business (Johnson 2006). The family worked in the Willey House Inn and Tavern (Figure 2) until August 1826, when the region was hit by a violent rainstorm that caused severe flooding and landslides. On the night of the storm, the Willey family and their hired men vanished, presumably buried in a landslide (Gosselin 1995). What was discussed in the wake of the tragedy, even today, was the fact that their house survived. While it is unknown what exactly happened to the family, historians assumed that they left the house to take shelter in a different location and died along the way (Johnson 2006). The fact that the Willey family died, but could have survived if they had just stayed where they were, created the intrigue that provoked the American imagination.

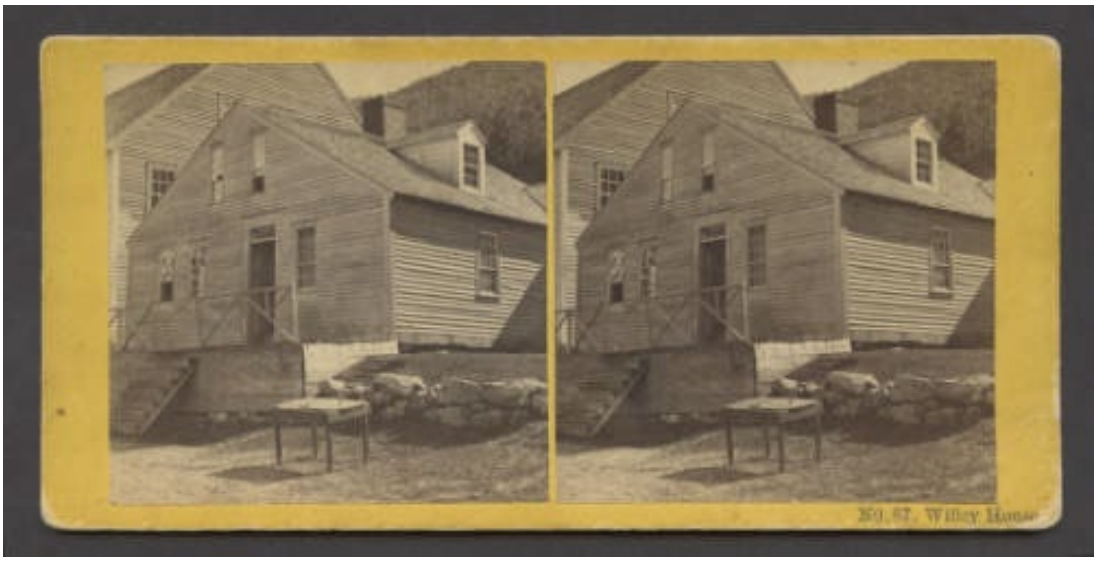

Figure 2: A stereograph of the surviving Willey House (Kilburn Brothers 1865-1885).

The tragedy of the Willey family serves to underscore the power and unpredictability of nature's agency in the White Mountains. The mountains sit at a convergence of three common storm tracks: the East Coast, Southwest, and West/Northwest Tracks. The overlapping of these tracks creates extreme weather conditions–fast wind, cold temperatures, and violent storms like the one that killed the Willeys (Redline Guiding 2019). This weather produced a response among Americans who read about the death of the family in New Hampshire newspapers and guidebooks (Cenkl 2006). It created *intrigue* about nature's awesome power to act and destroy human lives in the region. Urban audiences began to recognize that nature could create tragedy and changed how they interacted with the White Mountains accordingly.

White Mountain Art's Contribution to a Nationalist Landscape

Artists and writers were the first major tourist class that responded to the tragedy of the Willey family. Encapsulated by the unpredictability of nature, the group took the disaster and turned it into the biggest cultural event that the White Mountains had ever been a part of.

Nathaniel Hawthorne was the most famous writer to visit the region, as he based his short story "The Ambitious Guest" off the Willey family disaster after traveling to the region in 1830 (Hawthorne 1835). In the story, an ambitious traveler stays with a family in a mountain notch during a rockslide. The traveler and the family flee their house to go to a "safe place" during a larger avalanche, but are killed while the original house is unharmed (Hawthorne 1835). This and similar works that invoked images of tragedy and the power of nature gave the White Mountains an identity that could be consumed by interested people in faraway cities. The response to the tragedy reignited the nationalist interest in the White Mountains, as it infused the landscape with new stories that contributed to the American mythos about the region. The White Mountains came to embody power, intrigue, and wilderness–which artist Thomas Cole soon reinforced.

Thomas Cole brought notions of artistic romanticism to the White Mountains following the tragedy of the Willey family, which he used to assert that the region was home to wilderness that represented "the most distinctive and impressive characteristics of the burgeoning American scenery" (Johnson 2006, p. 66). Cole's romanticist style emphasized beauty of nature, which he described as a "union of the picturesque, the sublime, and the magnificent" (Cole 1835, as cited in Johnson 2006, p. 65). The art of the White Mountains that he created gave the region an aesthetic quality that used this nature to cultivate national pride. His works primarily portrayed the White Mountains as sublime: created to evoke strong emotional responses of terror and astonishment. Cole's art portraying the sublime aimed to overwhelm the viewer by making the landscape tower over them, leaving them in awe at the power portrayed in the art (Brown 1995). By creating this art, Cole emphasized that Americans should be proud of the White Mountains because they were powerful places that belonged to the country.

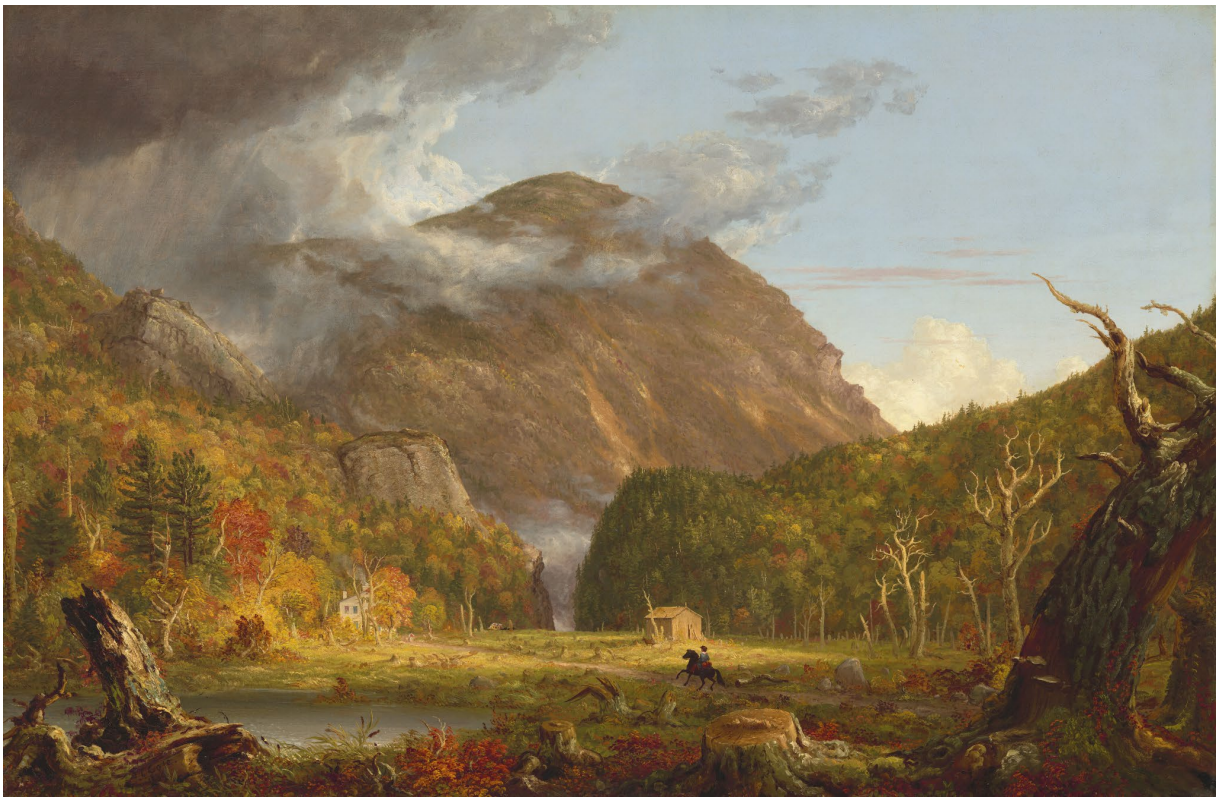

Figure 3: A View of the Mountain Pass Called Notch of the White Mountains (Cole 1839).

A View of the Mountain Pass Called Notch of the White Mountains (Figure 3) is Thomas Cole's most famous painting of the White Mountains. The painting embodies all the key qualities that Cole wanted to represent in his White Mountain landscapes: the natural beauty of the region, the emotional response of the sublime, and the nationalist qualities assigned to the land. The unnamed mountain pass (later called Crawford Notch) forms "an imposing and majestic presence" (Johnson 2006, p. 82) over the settlers and the house below, diminishing the human subjects in the face of nature. Christopher Johnson writes that wrapping the mountain in clouds and the edges of the painting in jagged trees emphasizes the terror of nature (2006), invoking the memories of tragedies like the disaster of the Willey Family in the viewer. Finally, while the house and settlers are small in the painting, they represent a relief from the power of nature (Dwight 1829, as cited in McGrath 2001). The house portrayed is believed to be Ethan

Allen Crawford's Notch House, one of the first inns in the White Mountains (McGrath 2001). Thus, the painting invokes reassurance in the settlers despite the awesome power of the nature that surrounds them. This reinforces the nationalism of the White Mountain landscape, as Cole uses the painting to tell viewers that they have a right to be a part of this powerful nature. *Notch Over the White Mountains* and Cole's other art portraying White Mountains brought the region's landscape alive for audiences in larger urban centers who otherwise would not have seen it (Johnson 2006). By creating images of the White Mountains that this audience could consume, he created further interest in the region.

Thomas Cole's art inspired other artists to come to the White Mountains, who became a tourist class that would inspire other tourists. Samuel W. Thompson, an inn owner during the 1840s-50s, found that when the introduction of railroads made his roadside business decline, landscape artists brought it back with their enthusiasm to come paint the region (Johnson 2006). These artists perpetuated similar images of the White Mountain landscape to Cole, continuing to portray it as alluring, dangerous, and American (Johnson 2006). They also made use of the inns and hotels throughout the region, which began to see an increased usage for the first time as artists came for multiple or extended stays (Johnson 2006). White Mountain art cultivated urban interest in the region, inviting other Americans to experience the sublime landscapes they saw in paintings. When tourists were finally given a means to come to the White Mountains en masse, that interest paid off.

Railroads and Grand Hotels: Allies in Tourism Development

Before the 1850s, urban tourists lacked a reliable means of transportation to the White Mountains, but they got those means when two railroads met in the region. During the early 19th century, transportation methods like horse-drawn carriages were lengthy and unfit for tourists

who could not take an extended leave from their job. Railroads, which could take tourists from major cities to the White Mountains in less than a day, would change this. In 1846, construction began on the St. Lawrence & Atlantic Railroad from Portland to Island Pond, Vermont, which was built to meet its northern counterpart, the St. Lawrence & Atlantic Railroad from Montreal, PQ (Gosselin 1995). This railroad, constructed for the purpose of providing access to an ice-free port for the shipping of Canadian goods, was laid through the town of Gorham, New Hampshire (Gosselin 1995). It ran close to some of the White Mountains' most striking landscapes, including Mount Washington. But the major appeal of the railroad was that it provided a *fast* route to these landscapes, putting Portland, Maine four hours away, Boston, Massachusetts nine hours away, and New York City twenty-four hours away (Bulkley 1975, p. 62). Hotel entrepreneurs saw the potential tourism traffic that this access could provide and quickly responded by increasing the size of their businesses (Bulkley 1975). The St. Lawrence & Atlantic Railroad created a mutually beneficial relationship with the White Mountain hotels and the region's railroads, which were later built to pass through towns such as Littleton, Central Harbour, and Plymouth (Brown 1995). The development of each improved the other as railroads came to serve tourism more and more.

Before the construction of the St. Lawrence and Atlantic Railroad, inns and hotels saw modest success in the White Mountains. They housed the artists and writers who created landscapes for urban consumers, as well as early travelers who became the region's first adventure tourists, which I will explore in the next chapter. However, this established hospitality business was not well-populated–but the combination of the railroad and one hotel owner changed that. Horace Fabyan was a hotel owner who purchased multiple properties throughout the region during the 1830s and 1840s and refurbished them to support more guests (Bulkley

1975). When the St. Lawrence and Atlantic was first being discussed, he responded to the pending rail developments by creating an expansion to his Mount Washington House. When starting the project in 1845, Fabyan believed that the railroad would have a profound influence on the hotel trade (Bulkley 1975). He was correct in his assumption, as the railroad gave tourists the chance to efficiently experience the landscapes that had been articulated to them for decades.

Figure 4: A postcard of the Fabyan House, one of the grand hotels in the White Mountains named after Horace Fabyan. It was built to replace his Mount Washington House in 1873 after Fabyan's hotel burned down in 1853 (The Miriam and Ira D. Wallach Division of Art 1898 – 1931).

Other hotel builders followed Fabyan's example and transformed the White Mountain landscape to accommodate the massive influx of tourists. Between 1846 and 1853, when the St. Lawrence and Atlantic Railroad was started and completed, nine other "grand hotels" besides Fabyan's were built (Bulkley 1975). Six of them were built between 1851 and 1853—a drastic

change from a region previously serviced by scattered inns (Johnson 2006). These grand hotels were built with qualities that combined early revival styles with Swiss chalets, making them appear high-class to tourists while also making use of the mountain environments as chalets did (Tolles 1998, p. 16). They appealed to tourists with their large size, distinguished interior spaces, and visual imagery that made them stand out in the mountains while also providing good views of the scenery (Tolles 1998). The hotels brought luxury to the White Mountains, giving them comfort and recreation while immersing them in the surrounding landscape.

During the second half of the 19th century, about 24 grand hotels were built throughout the White Mountains (Tolles 1998, p. 25). On average, each hotel could accommodate at least 200 guests per day (Tolles 1995), meaning that the number of tourists that could visit the White Mountains numbered in the thousands. The hotels, with their distinguished architecture, created images of wealth and grandeur that contrasted the surrounding mountains. The wilderness of the region was transformed into a product that could be sold to hotel visitors, leading to "a mass consumption of scenery" by White Mountain tourists (Cenkl 2006). But it was also recreation at the hotels that represented a taming of the wilderness. Guided hikes, horseback riding, play sports, and mountain viewing were all attractions offered at the hotels (Johnson 2006). These activities were not unique to the White Mountains, as developers in other regions like New York's Catskills and Colorado Springs created similar enclaves of comfort and sophistication during the same eras (Harner 2021). Luxury tourism in these places appealed to tourist interest in mythical American landscapes, but mediated visitor-wilderness interaction to keep them safe and comfortable (Harner 2021).

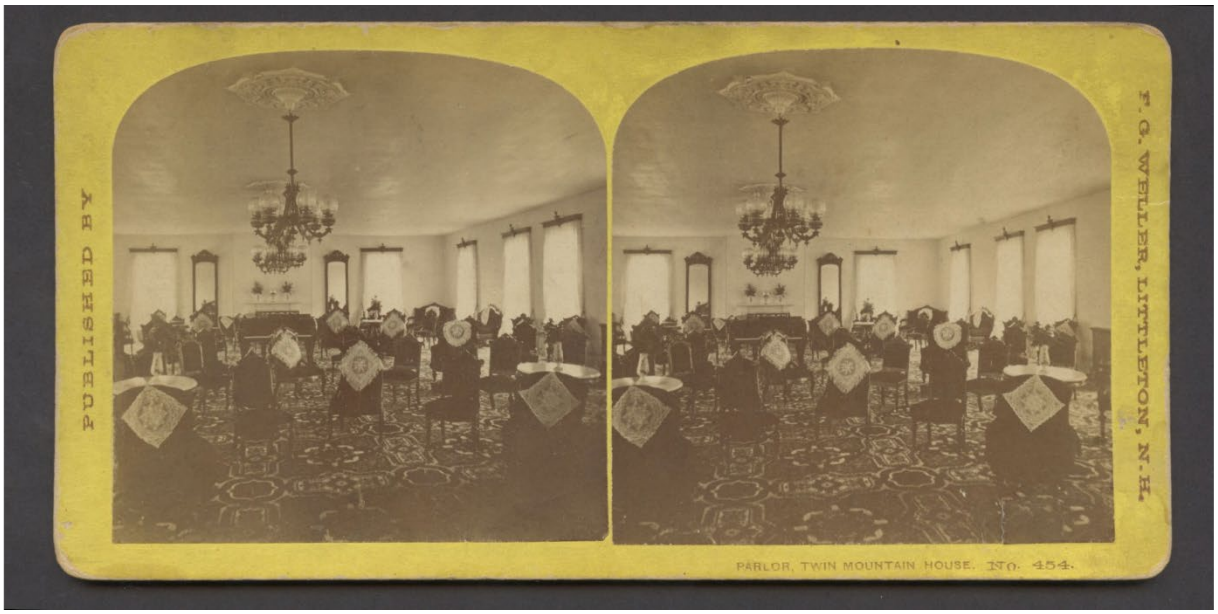

Figure 5: A stereograph portraying the parlor at Twin Mountain house. The image highlights the elegant interior decor of the hotel (Weller 1868-1877).

Making luxury tourism accessible to the broadest possible clientele was especially important in the White Mountains, as it allowed hotel developers to tap into the nationalist interest in the region that had been built up since the start of the 19th century. The site of the Willey disaster and the sublime views that artists brought to cities were finally within tourists' reach, and the creation of the grand hotels meant that they did not need to give up the conveniences of the city to travel to them. Baths, comfortable beds, and other amenities meant that the White Mountains could be a place of leisure (Johnson 2006). Tourists became passive spectators to the landscape and everything that it represented: the power of nature, the beauty of scenery, and American pride in the wilderness. An ideology had finally come to fruition that had been built up in the White Mountains since Darby Field's early expeditions: the mountains were a place to accumulate capital. Tourism defined how people interacted with the White Mountains en masse until the 20th century, when the success of the grand hotels experienced a decline. However, the impact that they made on the landscape would not, and the capital accumulation of

luxury tourism would combine with another, smaller but older form of tourism that grew alongside it from the 19th century until today.

Chapter 5: Adventure Tourism on Mount Washington

In this chapter, I outline the history of adventure tourism on Mount Washington, starting with the Crawford family, who built trails on the mountain and sold their services as hiking guides at the start of the 19th century. I elaborate on the ways that they changed the landscape of the mountain for a limited tourist class, and assert that they laid the groundwork for further tourist developments on the mountain. These developments, including new trails, hotels, and the Cog Railway, would direct tourist traffic towards the summit, the most desired part of Mount Washington. I argue that during this time, adventure tourism and luxury tourism began to merge on the mountain. Finally, I argue that adventure tourism endured as a process that continued to change the mountain in ways that can be seen on it today.

The Decline of Luxury Tourism in the White Mountains

Luxury tourism in the White Mountains declined during the 20th century. Many of the grand hotels have burned down or are no longer the tourist attractions that they once were. When the development of the automobile allowed tourists to have more streamlined, personalized travel experiences, spending a month at a grand hotel was no longer regarded as the pinnacle of tourist experiences (Johnson 2006). Additionally, more tourists wanted to get away from the hotels and back into a nature that was not constructed primarily for recreation and scenery-viewing (Johnson 2006, p. 146). This is how adventure tourism–the other form of tourism that developed in the region during the 19th century–persisted.

However, tourists who wanted to get back into nature may not have been that different from luxury tourists. This is because adventure tourism in the White Mountains, specifically on Mount Washington, constructed a landscape that was mediated to appeal to adventurers' desires.

This form of tourism developed throughout the 19th century, just as luxury tourism did, but its effects would last much longer and can still be seen on Mount Washington today.

The Crawford Family: The White Mountains' First Adventure Tourism Entrepreneurs

Adventure tourism constructs a landscape that appeals to a romantic notion of adventuring. In the White Mountains, there has been no place more appealing than Mount Washington, the region's central icon of early American nationalism and its highest peak and challenge. Expeditions up Mount Washington like Darby Field's and Jeremy Belknap's created interest in the mountain even before the tragedy of the Willey family popularized the region for urban tourists. Tourists who wanted to explore the mountain were given an opportunity to do so by some of the earliest settlers in the White Mountains, the Crawford family. This family laid the groundwork for tourism developments that would contribute to Mount Washington becoming a commodified landscape between the 19th century and today.

The Crawford family who moved to the White Mountains in the late 18th century (Waterman & Waterman 1989), were the first settlers to recognize that the land they were a part of could be sold to travelers as an adventure experience. Abel Crawford and his father-in-law Eleazar Rosebrook began this effort when they established an overnight house in the White Mountain Notch (later the Crawford Notch) in 1803, which housed teamsters and traders who did business in the area (Cenkl 2006, p. 25). While Abel went on to build his own inn 12 miles to the south at Hart's Location, his son Ethan and daughter-in-law Lucy would take over Eleazar's original inn in 1816 (Waterman & Waterman 1989). Each family member played a part in developing the tourism enterprise that would reshape the mountain that they lived beneath– Mount Washington.

Most travelers who stayed at the Crawfords' inns during the first 20 years of the 19th century were interested more in the trade or trapping businesses than in mountaineering, but the family was keen to spot the tourist trade that developed little by little. Travelers who wanted to experience adventure in the still-developing White Mountains started to pass through their inns, so the Crawfords saw an opportunity for early adventure tourism entrepreneurship (Waterman & Waterman 1989). To make a living off these tourists' adventure, the Crawfords became experienced guides of the mountains. On September 17th, 1818, Abel Crawford was hired for one of the earliest of these guided trips, accompanying John Brazer of Cambridge and George Dawson of Philadelphia on an ascent of Mount Washington (Cenkl 2006, p. 26). However, Abel discovered that these hikers were less interested in the experience of the hike itself and more in the summit that awaited them at the end. Brazer and Dawson idealized the sublime experience and views of the summit, even laying a brass plate inscribed with Latin phrases about ascending to the stars on it (Cenkl 2006). By bringing these expectations to the White Mountains, Brazer, Dawson, and the tourists that followed them showed the Crawfords what they sought in their expeditions up Mount Washington. Tourists' desires pointed to the summit of the mountain, which due to its striking views and harsh weather, represented the pinnacle of the adventure experience they were looking for.

To cultivate tourists' expectations of Mount Washington, the Crawfords started to physically and commercially change its landscape. Between 1820 and 1821, Abel and Ethan Crawford built two footpaths on Mount Washington (Johnson 2006). These paths would later be named the first and second Crawford paths (Waterman & Waterman 1989). By building these paths, according to Ethan, the family wanted to "see if there could not be a better and more practicable way found to ascend the mountains" (Crawford 1822, as cited in Johnson 2006, p.

54). By creating more defined trails, as opposed to paths cut through the woods, the Crawfords created more even terrain for their hikes. This provided a more viable tourist experience for the mythical Mount Washington, as the new trails would leave hikers unencumbered by rougher elements of nature. Ethan's foresight regarding the trails paid off, as more travelers could climb the mountain meant that the family could sell their guide services to larger groups of people. Ethan guided one group of 7 up the mountain in 1920, and a group of women known as the Austin sisters and their brother in 1921 (Johnson 2006). Like the hikers before them, these hikers sought the experience of the summit and the sights that they beheld there, which the Crawfords served by facilitating their experience to get them to their desired destination.

When the Crawfords began their enterprise as adventure tourist guides in the early 1820s, they changed the social landscape of Mount Washington just as much as the physical. This began when Ethan Crawford went to local newspapers to advertise his first footpath (Johnson 2006, p. 54), claiming that the difficulties of climbing the mountain "were now wholly removed" (Cenkl 2006, p. 26). His promotion appealed to the emerging tourist class, who could now learn through the advertisements that an experience on Mount Washington was a commodity–something that they could pay the Crawfords to buy into.

Lucy Crawford played an even more important role in promoting the White Mountains for tourism. In her book *History of the White Mountains*, she chronicled the history of her family's settlement in the region and their role in developing the expanding tourism economy of the 19th century. Her writing stressed the idea that the Crawfords were providing an experience that no one else in the region could, and that their services made coming to Mount Washington appealing (Crawford 1846, as cited in Johnson 2006).When the Willey family disaster brought a greater influx of tourists to the White Mountains, the Crawfords saw success because of their

narrative and found the newly emerging tourist class populating their hotels, hiring them as guides, and using their trails.

Mount Washington's Legacy of Summit Developments

While the Crawford family may have pioneered the first wave of tourism in the 19th century, by the 1850s, they were not the only people building trails on Mount Washington or profiting from tourists looking to visit its summit. Over 30 years, a number of bridle paths were built on the mountain, constructed as trails that tourists would primarily ride a horse on. These included the Davis Path, the Glen House path, and the Stillings path. In addition, as horse-ridden travel became the dominant form of transportation on the mountain, the Crawford paths were changed to support riding (Waterman & Waterman 1989). Since the mountain now lacked the original footpaths that had been constructed for tourists, the ways that people interacted with the mountain changed. Adventuring was even more accessible than before, especially after the construction of the Carriage Road in 1861 that made the ascent easier for wealthier tourists who could hire a horse and carriage (Johnson 2006). Yet because of that increased accessibility, tourism on Mount Washington began to take on more elements of luxury tourism. These elements interlocked with the existing adventure tourism structures to change the landscape of the mountain in new ways.

Structuring Mount Washington in such a way that tourism flowed towards the summit eventually culminated in the creation of hotels on the top of the mountain. These hotels were the Summit House, created in 1852 by Lucius M. Rosebrook and Joseph S. Hall, and the Tip-Top House (Figure 6), created by Samuel F. Spaulding in 1853 to capitalize on the Tip-Top House's commercial base (Tolles 1998). The hotels, like the footpaths and the bridle paths before them, were built to provide tourists the experience of the Mount Washington summit, but now situated

them directly on it when they stayed on the mountain overnight. This gave tourists a new experience that appealed to their sense of adventure: exposure to winds that could reach 231 miles per hour (Potter Jr. & Chabot 1994), dangerous snowstorms, and conditions that could change without notice. Yet the hotels, small in size and built from granite (Johnson 2006), could weather the storms and allowed tourists to experience the sublime power of Mount Washington in-person while keeping them safe. This unique tourist experience would not have been available without the mountain's weather conditions, thus it was created as a co-production of nature and the hotel owners. Similar to the landslide that killed the Willey family, the destructive force of the summit weather created an allure that the hotel developers could not create on their own. The co-production of tourist experiences by nature and tourist developers is an enduring part of Mount Washington, as it is still referred to, and now studied, as the place with the "worst weather in the world" (Potter Jr. & Chabot 1994).

Figure 6: A postcard portraying the Tip-Top House (Hugh C. Leighton Company 1907).

However, the appeal to adventure that the hotels and weather provided during the 19th century also contained elements of luxury tourism. Tip-Top House and the Summit House met tourists' needs at the summit. Tourists who stayed in the hotels were guaranteed meals, a bed, and heat inside the hotels (Johnson 2006), allowing them to comfortably observe the weather after having an adventure experience hiking, riding, and later taking a train up the mountains. Tourists would engage with Mount Washington by ascending it, but receive a mediated experience of nature on the summit because they did not need to deal with the undesirable harshness of the windstorms. In this sense, summit hotels were similar to the luxury hotels in the land below Mount Washington, where the wilderness scenery could be consumed from a distance. But they also are indicative of elements of adventure tourism that would later be observed in other regions like the Himalayas. The hotels and the mountain sold tourists an experience that let them *emulate* an adventure–and that was enough. With the creation of the summit hotels, luxury and adventure tourism would continue to converge on the summit of Mount Washington until the last major product on the mountain in the 19th century, the Cog Railway, was built.

The Cog Railway and the Convergence of Luxury and Adventure Tourism on Mount Washington

The Mount Washington Cog Railway was born out of an adventure tourism expedition–a 1857 hike by Sylvester Marsh that almost killed him and Pastor Augustus Thompson before they reached the summit (White Mountain History, n.d). Marsh and Thompson barely survived a snowstorm before they reached the summit hotels, which compelled Marsh to think about ways that travel up the mountain could be made safer White Mountain History, n.d). His planning eventually led to the creation of the Cog Railway, a railroad that ascended the mountain on a

series of angled and elevated rails. As someone who had been a tourist on Mount Washington, Marsh understood the appeal that the summit's views and weather created. The Cog Railway was a project that he believed could be used to create profit from that appeal. In the decade following his near-death experience, Marsh patented, financed, and oversaw construction of the railroad until it was completed in 1869 (White Mountain History, n.d).

When it was completed, the Cog Railway could–and still does–take passengers from the base of Mount Washington to Tip-Top House at the summit, as well as other small stations along the track (Teague 1969). The Cog Railway proved to be an alluring new attraction to tourists, as it became the dominant way of ascending the mountain for the remainder of the 19th century (Gosselin 1995, p. 46). It was also the apex of the combining of adventure tourism and luxury tourism that occurred on Mount Washington throughout the 19th century.

Figure 7: A photographic print of the construction of the Cog Railway, showing the section of the railroad referred to as "Jacob's Ladder" (Mount Washington Cog Railway 1868).

The Cog Railway allowed tourists to experience the mountain, to get onto it and explore parts of it that they could not reach by foot. But it also was the most comfortable way to climb the mountain at the time, putting tourists in a safe, accommodating carriage that did not demand any of their energy. Even today, people will pay to ride the Cog Railway to have a unique experience of ascending Mount Washington. They can ride up to the summit or hike up the mountain and ride down–and in this sense, the creation of the Cog Railway finally blurred the lines between what adventure and luxury tourism were in the White Mountains. In the years following its creation, trails would resurge in popularity, the mountain roads would begin to accommodate cars, and the railway would remain a continuing business on Mount Washington. Having multiple continually operating means of getting up the mountain means that tourists can visit it regardless of the experience that they are looking for. Whether they want an easy experience or an adventurous one, any of the 250,000 tourists that come to the mountain each year (Kirellos 2021) can find a way to reach its summit and experience the views and weather that have defined Mount Washington for over 200 years. The landscape of the mountain has been permanently changed to accommodate their needs and desires, and given Mount Washington's popularity, tourism will continue to inform how it is used.

Conclusion

Landscape is the way that people interpret, describe, and construct the world around them or far away. It is a co-production between people and nature, as people bring associations to the land and assign meaning to it, but also react to natural activity that occurs on the land to create landscapes that represent it. Over time, this process creates a representation of a place that is time and time again articulated to people who live in or visit it. Landscapes are how people come to understand the places they are a part of, but the landscape both represents and hides parts of the land. When certain parts of the land are privileged by people with power creating landscapes, just as they were in the White Mountains, we cannot understand the construction of the landscape without recognizing the dominant ideologies that motivate it.

In the White Mountains and on Mount Washington, nationalism and capitalism were the driving ideologies that shaped the landscapes we see in the region today. Landscapes formed by the indigenous Abenaki people, which understood the region and its nature in terms of reciprocity, existed for hundreds of years but have largely been erased by colonialism. This colonialism, and later nationalism, compelled European colonists to explore the mountains and to bring ideas of using the land for commercial purposes to the region. During the establishment of the United States, the nationalism that symbolized the region, such as the naming of Mount Washington and the works of art that emphasized the power of the American landscape, generated national pride. This nationalism later served to fuel capitalist developments in the White Mountains and Mount Washington, the latter of which came about with the construction of railroads. The capitalist developments that came to define the White Mountains were luxury and adventure tourism. Though these two forms of tourism saw different motivations and success

throughout the 19th century, they both commodified the landscape of the region by allowing hotel owners and other entrepreneurs to sell scenery to urban tourists.

Early Euro-American settlers in the White Mountains like the Crawfords changed the landscape of Mount Washington to suit tourists' interests, creating trails that still exist today and inspiring later tourism developments on the mountain. Later settlers and developers took advantage of the nationalist interest in the region's scenery to create luxury hotels that appealed to urban tourists. Both kinds of tourism put people in the mountains, but ultimately mediated their experience of nature differently by providing specific amenities that tourists desired. Both forms of tourism grew in popularity throughout the 19th century, and while interest in luxury hotels faded over time, they had a combined impact with adventure tourism on the region. Today, the effects of 19th century tourism are present on the land in the form of remaining hotels and structures like the Auto Road on Mount Washington, but they can also be seen in the images and stories that still circulate to promote the region.

The Modern Tourist Imagery of Mount Washington and the White Mountains

The logo for the Mount Washington Auto Road, which portrays the road winding to the summit of the mountain, represents the same motivations present in early adventure tourism. The logo emphasizes the main object of tourist desire on Mount Washington: the summit. Changing the landscape of the mountain by physically cutting into it, the road directs viewers' eyes to the top. This reinforces it as the most important part of the landscape–maintaining the same motivation to get to the summit by the easiest means possible that was present in 19th-century adventure tourists.

Figure 8: The logo for the Mount Washington Auto Road (n.d.).

In a similar manner, the logo for Bretton Woods, a ski area in the White Mountains connected to the Omni Mount Washington Hotel, invokes imagery of luxury tourism. It centers the hotel, one of the last remaining grand hotels in the region, against a backdrop of trees and mountains. The contrast between wilderness and luxury is still present in the image, inviting viewers to come enjoy the same views and experiences as 19th-century tourists. Though luxury tourism has largely gone out of fashion in the region, the logo keeps the stories of its history alive and continues to use them to invite tourists to the White Mountains.

Figure 9: The logo for the Bretton Woods ski area and the connected Omni Mount Washington Resort (n.d.).

Finally, there is of course Mount Washington's famous bumper sticker. The humorous sticker that reads "This Car Climbed Mount Washington "is a signifier of adventure that tourists can take with them after their visit. It represents an adventure that has become more and more accessible over time, but still gives tourists the sense of accomplishment they desire. It, like these other images, creates an image of Mount Washington and the White Mountains that can be spread around the world. Showcasing the region's most desirable locations and the sense of adventure that can be achieved in them, promotional tourist images continue to construct the White Mountains as a landscape to be consumed. Year after year, the same qualities of mountains that have been privileged since the 19th century attract over 250,000 tourists to the region, many of them looking to experience the adventure and wilderness that has been sold to them.

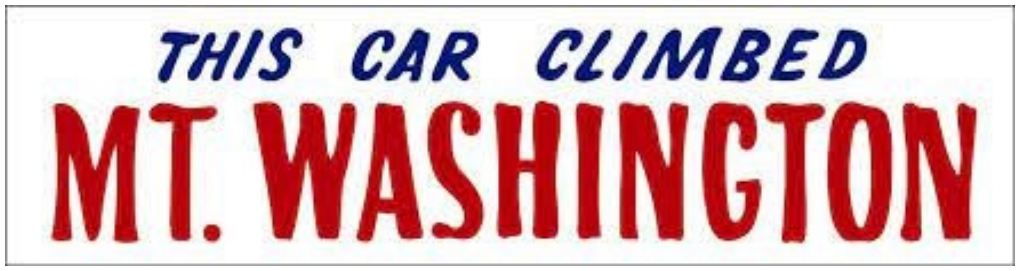

Figure 10: "This Car Climbed Mt. Washington" bumper sticker (n.d.).

As I have emphasized in this thesis, the construction of the White Mountains and Mount Washington as a tourist destination was a long process. Images shown to tourists, be they in works of art, promotional logos, or through a hotel window, are shown to emphasize a particular view of the region. The same can be said for the developments that guide tourists up Mount Washington. The Auto Road and Cog Railway are now features of the landscape, but they were not always there–nor were the tourism goals they promote. This is something that is important to

recognize in not just the White Mountains, but *any* landscape. The representations of the places that we inhibit and visit are not naturally there for us to see them the way that we do. While nature asserts agency in the co-production of places like Mount Washington, the human response to the mountain often perpetuates a particular image of a place. These images might have served or still serve the goals of dominant ideologies, which construct landscapes to further interests that do not serve everyone, or every place, equally. If we are to truly understand the landscapes around us, it is important to read between the lines of these representations and understand *why* we see the things that we see.

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